1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

OLD WOMEN'S MAGIC

789 This type of magic, known as *sohor*, does not involve the use of writing, and is not performed by students. It is the exclusive property of women. The following will serve as examples:

1. When rain falls during a wedding, old women take a bit of the bride's headcloth and stick seven needles into it. They then fasten it to a pole and set it on the roof. This is supposed to stop the rain immediately.

2. When, on the other hand, rain is desired, old women take a *thefeira*, or wooden bread-shovel, and dress it as a bride in the clothes of a bride who has recently been married for the first time. The unmarried girls carry the shovel around to all the houses, and to the mosque and saint's tomb, if there is one, shouting a request for God to send rain. When they have taken it to all the houses in the village they set it up in a grain field, preferably a field of barley. Although they do not expressly say so in the formula which they chant, their idea is to induce the rain to take its bride.[1]

3. When women of one family are jealous of the women of another at a wedding, and wish to exceed them in skill at singing and dancing, an old woman of the first family chews up a mouthful of salt and oil and spits this into the drum-warming fire. This will cause the rival women to fight together and leave the wedding.

4. When a young couple are in love and the boy changes his affection and marries another girl, the mother of the slighted girl invites the boy to enter her house. She sits in a corner holding two wool-cards with unwashed wool between them. She calls out the boy's name, and as he answers takes a stroke with the cards. She does this three times, and if he has answered each time she locks the cards together and puts them up in the rafters. As long as the cards remain there he will be unable to have an erection. In this case the wool serves as a symbol of softness.

SHAME-COMPULSIONS

183 The shame-compulsion, called *or*, is claimed by the Riffians to have no sorcery in it, but to be based on the use of shame as an effective agent. Its principle lies in one man's doing something ceremonially which will shame another into doing something against his will. The shame-compulsion is connected with hospitality. Just as it is unthinkable to refuse to give food to a guest who enters your house, or to refuse food offered in the house of another, so it is unthinkable to refuse to comply to a shame-compulsion.

If a man should refuse a shame-compulsion some great calamity would befall him; he or one of his family would die, and all mankind would cease to respect him. He would lose his entire social standing. Examples of the shame-compulsion follow:

1. A *bone* hard pressed in a feud, wishing to ally itself to another *bone*, passes *in toto* men, women, and children, to the village mosque of the other *bone*, leading with them a bull if possible, otherwise a cow or a goat. The schoolmaster of the first *bone*, or one of its members who is a student at the cantonal mosque, slaughters the animal sacrificially in front of the mosque, in such a way that the blood will spurt out and hit the door. If this fails to

[1] S. Biarnay (*Etude sur les Dialectes Berbères du Rif*, pp. 174–178), in a text written in the dialect of the Bokoya, gives a complete account of this ceremony. My account is from the Gzennaya in particular, although this rite is practiced in many tribes of the Rif.

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happen, however, the shame-compulsion still holds. The *bone* upon which it has been worked is forced to ally itself with the supplicating group, forming *liff* [1] with it.

2. A man condemned to pay a fine in consequence of a murder goes to each house in the *canton* with an open knife held in his teeth and knocks on the door. Those within must make him a present. When he has in this way collected the amount or residue of his fine he pays it, and he does not have to pay back the money he has taken. This type of shame-compulsion is called *er fiheith*.

3. A man fined for murder who has property to sell, but insufficient time in which to do so, leads a goat to the house of a man whom he knows to have ready cash, and sacrifices it in front of the door. The man thus appealed to is compelled to loan the money immediately. After the murderer has sold his own property he must repay his acquaintance.

4. When a family is besieged in its house in a feud, and sees no prospect of getting out, the women and children depart, being immune from harm, go to another *bone*, sometimes even to another tribe, and enter the house of the most important person in that place. This action constitutes a shame-compulsion upon the inhabitants to ally themselves with the worsted party.

5. A has had a feud with B. This has been patched up by payment, and the two have been living tranquilly for some time. Suddenly A again becomes angry with B and takes a shot at him, while he is unarmed, but misses. B runs to a woman of A's *sein* and touches her nipple with his mouth, drawing out milk if she has any. This prevents A from killing B, since it places the two in the position of foster-brothers, by extension.

6. When a family is besieged as in (4), and the besiegers, contrary to custom, will not let the women and children out, the besieged send out students or saints to pick up their dead and carry them to the village mosque of another *bone*. The latter set these corpses down in the mosque, and the *bone* which owns the mosque is bound to ally itself with the besieged and relieve them.

7. When a tribal council has burned the house or houses of a *sein* or *bone*, the members of which flee or are exiled, the victims in passing through another tribe are attacked. They go to the village or cantonal mosque of the attacking group, sacrifice a cow there, if they have saved one, and enter the mosque. The inhabitants give the victims a house and food, and their tribal council goes to the councillors of the victims' tribe to demand their reinstatement. If this is refused the two groups fight, since a powerful shame-compulsion has been effected.

8. When a *bone* is hard pressed in a war and all others in the neighborhood have allied against it, the *bone* dresses an attractive girl in the costume of a bride, hennas and tattoos her, mounts her on a mule, leads her to a neutral *bone*, and gives her to a councillor as wife. He is forced by shame-compulsion to marry her, and his *bone* must ally itself with hers.

OATHS

The *'ahd*, or oath, is an agreement for mutual protection or mutual peace sworn to between two persons or two groups over the grave of a saint. In the case of two persons, one stands at either side of the grave, and the two clasp hands so that their fingers interlock. In this position they recite, in *thamazighth*, the formula "Let the *'ahd* of the Lord God be

[1] See above, p. 105.

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183 between us." If there are two groups of people "making *'ahd*" together, as many of each group as there is room for face each other across the grave. When these have made *'ahd* others fill their places, until all have taken part. An *'ahd* cannot be broken without retribution falling afterwards in some unforeseen way. The following list covers some of the situations which call for the making of *'ahd*.

1. Two men wish to make a covenant not to harm one another.

2. A man fears that a friend will deceive him with his wife, and asks the friend to make *'ahd* with him. This is done at times by men about to start on journeys.

3. One man hires another to commit murder; the two may confirm the agreement by making *'ahd*.

4. A man makes *'ahd* with his wife so that they will have confidence in each other.

5. Adulteresses make *'ahd* together to insure mutual secrecy.

6. *Bones* which have been allied in *liff* and which begin to mistrust each other make *'ahd* as groups. This involves breaking bread at the tomb and exchanging the pieces.

7. *Fifths* allied in *liff* make *'ahd* to continue that condition, under the agreement that the first *bone* to break it will be punished by the destruction of its property and by exile. This punishment, of course, implies the consent of the tribal council. In making this type of *'ahd* the councillors of the two *fifths* meet in a saint's tomb, and not only break and exchange bread but also sacrifice a bull.

Besides the serious *'ahd*-making of grown-ups, children build toy graves of pebbles or small stones and play at making *'ahd* over them.

THE EVIL EYE

154 The evil eye is thought to exert its baleful influence mainly against vegetable gardens and women and children. An old soot-blackened pot, a mule's skull, or a black cloth is put up on a pole in the garden, and acts as a prophylactic. In red-pepper patches goat droppings are tied up when the peppers are in flower.

Pairs of goat horns are tied on pomegranate trees to keep the flowers from falling when a person with the evil eye looks at them.

To keep the evil eye from harming a child, a boar's tooth may be hung about its neck on a string. Women protect themselves by tying cowrie-shells into their belts.

INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS

781 In the Rif it is thought that dreams dreamed in the summer will come true, while those dreamed in winter will not, since the world is turned around at that time. Dreams of an ominous nature are mostly symbolical. The following are a few examples:

1. If you dream that you see a man naked, poverty will befall him. If you dream that you yourself are naked, no harm will result.

2. If you dream that you see a wedding company disporting themselves in the house of one of your relatives, then one of your relatives, not necessarily the same one, will soon die.

3. If you dream that you or someone else falls into a stream or a stream-bed, the government will shortly make trouble for you.

602 571 613 619 596 2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton [21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613 Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594 3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a 594 595 183 [554] conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny 595 182 [181] is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

600 them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

such urgent needs: it disorbitized the simple problems of fiscalization, strengthening and (re)orientation of Rifian popular institutions in order to create a cold and foreign bureaucracy and/or, at the very least, to improve the cities by putting up sumptuous buildings or repairing beautiful minarets.[17]

From a communal administrative organization and an essentially lay and effective position--like that of the ahabbas--a complicated religious problem and political weapon has been forged, i.e. the forms and modes have changed completely, to the detriment of the need which they tried to remedy. The administration has passed into the hands of the tulba; the inspection into those of the qudat (pl. of qadi); and the orders for payments into those of nothing less than a Ministry.[18]

In these dazzling reports it is easy to find science per se and the origin, finality and means of acquiring and utilizing these jma'ath properties in the different tribal areas of our (Spanish) zone in its "anarchical" (sic) existence.

I believe, then, that it is not in ways foreign to the Zone nor to those of the Arab authors of treatises where we must look for the light which will illuminate our path, but rather in what we know (empirically) through investigation of Rifian society itself, whose most durable facets are not very different from old Spanish

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17--The situation which Blanco hints at here, of local community resources in the Rif disappearing in order to add luster to urban mosque-cum-habus situations, is not one which has ever come up in our own experience.

18--Here Blanco complains again about what can only be labeled as "Creeping Arabism", after his earlier remarks about the pernicious influence of "the city" on the Rifian.

671 613 628 728 554 by such a simple and voluntary act it was converted at the same time to an arbiter of incidents and an executor of decisions. The function is not gratuitous as in modern states, for if in the latter the contributor pays indirectly, he does so directly in the Rif. Their covetousness thus awakened, they evidently insured temporarily against feud renewal, but they also stipulated that it would revive the embers of their hatred.

671 613 628 182 [183] These agreements or inter-lineage truces obeyed a double mechanism originating from the vicious circle in which they were debated. On the one hand they originated a series of regulatory norms of coexistence which, gaining in amplitude of concept and extending their jurisdiction to the generalizing of their advantages and the persistence of their exemplarity, painfully came to gain the adhesion of other nearby and related lineages until they were adopted by larger social and territorial units, including districts or entire tribes; and this situation gave rise to some of those qanuns upon which we will comment further on. On the other hand, they represented the ultimate [728] step to which anarchy led, responding to those most curious periods of [195] their history in which one powerful group, having recourse to violence, broke the truce in defense of its own interests, the official recognition of this fact being given by the imgharen in the suq in the face of general consternation, with the tragic phrase War dha bu r-haqq.[12]

628 602 182 195 "Now there is no law"[13]: such was the official form of declaring the state of anarchy into which the Rifians so frequently fell, a phrase which obliged them to strengthen their kin group, without dismay and by all means in their power; for a man's kinsmen were his last refuge in case of social accident.

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanuns, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

671 [62] [623] [614] We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 • 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

562 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among
671 the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed
183 today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only
794 one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon
443 discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering
689 the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him
178 over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at
562 the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's
443 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they
178 were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very
183 attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of
[184] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the fundá-
[681] mentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

312 uggugen) for the source or origin of irrigation ditches and as partitions of the waters on both banks. After a dam has been set up, built to hold as much water as possible, it is converted into a ditch-head, in which the necessary outlets are made, and it thus acts as the point of origin of the principal or primary ditches which have a permanent flow of water; these are usually two or three in number. Although [183] these outlets are irregular, the Rifians say that a half or a third of the water is utilized in distribution; and although this is what happens in practice, in theory the distribution is far from perfect, as the tribesmen do not take into account the width nor the depth of the outlets; and these are improvised, if not actually variable. The primary ditches are distributed and divided in this way into secondary branches, if these are necessary, in which the irrigation turns proper are initiated, which means that they only take up water for twenty-four hours; therefore, if there are four secondary ditches, each one will take up water every four days. These secondary ditches are [805] subdivided in turn into other tertiary branches, also of periodic or intermittent flow, which do not take up water other than during the day or at night; and these originate the irrigation furrows of individuals which do not take up any water other than at certain hours, which are determined by those of the principal daily prayers.

312 591 613 596 This distribution of irrigation water is intimately linked to the Rifian lineage system, to the dharfiqth (which tends to have a 24-hour turn) and its component ijujga, and it is completed with one order of turns begun in the tertiary ditches through which if one of these ditches, during its turn, takes up water during the daytime,

224 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the
672 fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during
685 the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the dis-
224 position of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the
672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another
183 Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

224 L) Taboos:
782 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to
784 make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh,
[951] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated
411 by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

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428 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister
431 and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal
578 equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land
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607 claims are mutually balanced off.

428 Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their
423 inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their
607 property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct
562 on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

423 The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheri-
428 tance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differ-
423 entiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there
183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The
556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which
425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

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(131)

given to one's sons. However, in times of extended drought and famine as in the mid 'forties and again in the late 'fifties, selling of land and migration to the urban centers have taken place on a fairly wide scale. In such a situation the property owner can sell to a stranger but he must give relatives first option and, if they are unwilling to exercise their right, he should give the option to someone inside the community. To buy land under such conditions is considered not only honorable but a community service in that it maintains the integrity of the community by preventing outsiders from becoming members. However, neither the buyer nor the community regards such a purchase as speculation for economic profit. Rather, they see it as community service and a socially approved method of advancing one's children. The acquisition of land under such circumstances is not a part of the motivation system based on profit but part of the same complex which includes social duty and community solidarity.

Land is, of course, one of the factors of production. But whether the Riffian regards this aspect as being the primary attribute of land can be questioned. A man of my acquaintance whose grandfather and father had made sizable land purchases held at the time more land than he could profitably cultivate and manage. Yet he was quite ashamed that he had not been able to buy more land so as to increase the legacy for his own children. To him the economic value of the land was secondary to its prestige function. Nash's remark about property among the Maya

556 472 183 It is possible, of course, for a single individual to incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylia Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, ". . . only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' . . ." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remmerative but of negative value in terms of social interrelations. Those men who are motivated by profit often find the 556 472 183 571 369 186 atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate to Alhucemas or Targuist. While Riffians who live in the rural areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

556 472 501 577 There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is manifested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents). 675 466 464 Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the 556 554 182 183 [128] social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains significance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

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183 the fact that the society disapproves of any action which disrupts the solidarity of the community.